

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6703

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA JAPAN

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

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E. O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: THAW IN JCP-CPSU RELATIONS?

SUMMARY. ON HEELS OF CPSU INVITATION TO JCP TO ATTEND
25TH CPSU CONGRESS, JCP ANNOUNCED ARRIVAL OF TWO CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS TO DISCUSS "UNRESOLVED DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN TWO PARTIES." JCP, HOWEVER, IS LIKELY TO APPROACH
CPSU CAUTIOUSLY, AND RELATIONS, IF REESTABLISHED ON REGULAR
BASIS, ARE LIKELY TO BE RESTRAINED, MOST IMPORTANTLY
BECAUSE JCP HAS TOO MUCH INVESTED DOMESTICALLY IN ITS
INDEPENDENT IMAGE. END SUMMARY.

1. JCP ANNOUNCED FEBRUARY 3 ARRIVAL THAT DAY OF TWO
CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS FOR TALKS ON "UNRESOLVED
ISSUES BETWEEN TWO PARTIES." MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT IN DIET
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PRESS CONFERENCE, JCP DEPUTY SECRETARIAT CHIEF AND LOWER

HOUSE DIETMAN MITSUHIRO KANEKO TERMED VISIT FIRST STEP IN "REEVALUATIONS OF TWO PARTIES." THE VISIT COMES ON THE HEELS OF A CPSU INVITATION TO THE JCP TO ATTEND THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS, TO WHICH JCP HAS NOT YET RESPONDED.

2. TWO CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEEMEN ARE I. I. KOVALENKO, CPSU INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT CHIEF AND VICE PRESIDENT OF SOVIET-JAPAN ASSOCIATION IN MOSCOW, AND P.N. FEDOSEEV, A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER. KOVALENKO, CPSU'S FOREMOST JAPAN EXPERT AND FREQUENT VISITOR HERE, HAS IN PAST NORMALLY TALKED PRIMARILY WITH JSP AND SOHYO.

3. JCP DAILY "RED FLAG" (AKAHATA) DID NOT DEFINE NATURE OF "UNRESOLVED ISSUES." HOWEVER, ALL OTHER VERNACULAR PRESS SAID TALKS WILL CENTER ON CONTINUING LOW-LEVEL SOVIET SUPPORT FOR PRO-SOVIET JCP SPLINTER GROUP CALLED "JCP-VOICE OF JAPAN," COMPOSED OF JCP MEMBERS PURGED FROM PARTY IN 1964 FOR FAVORING PARTIAL NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY.

4. COMMENT. SINCE 1964 BREAK IN JCP-CPSU OFFICIAL RELATIONS, THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL SIMILAR ATTEMPTS AT RAPPROCHEMENT WHICH HAVE ENDED IN FAILURE. FOR INSTANCE, JCP SENT A DELEGATION TO CPSU 24TH CONGRESS IN 1971, BUT CPSU DID NOT EVEN SEND GREETING MESSAGE TO JCP 12TH CONGRESS IN 1973. AFTER 1973, UNTIL RECENTLY, JCP HAS REFUSED TO MEET WITH CPSU REPS VISITING JAPAN AND PARTY PRESS HAS LEVELED STEADY STREAM OF CRITICISM AT USSR AND CPSU. FROM LATE 1975, HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOTED SHARP DECLINE OF JCP PROPAGANDA ATTACKS AIMED AT BOTH CPSU AND CCP. MOREOVER, IN RECENT SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS, JCP CHAIRMAN KENJI MIYAMOTO AND OTHER PARTY LEADERS HAVE APPEARED TO HINT THAT BETTER RELATIONS WITH BOTH PARTIES ARE POSSIBLE IF SOVIETS AND CHINESE ARE WILLING TO TAKE INITIATIVE.

5. VIEWED FROM HERE, RENEWED CPSU INTEREST IN JCP MAY BE RELATED TO JCP'S STEPPED UP CONTACT WITH IMPORTANT WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARITIES. CPSU-JCP CONTACT MAY ALSO BE INTENDED TO SERVE AS WARNING AND REBUKE TO JSP WHOSE LEADERS OF LATE HAVE DISPLAYED ANTI-SOVIET, PRO-PRC TILT.

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6. JCP WILL, HOWEVER, BE EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS IN APPROACHING SOVIETS AND IN HANDLING ATTENDANT PUBLICITY. IDEOLOGICAL AND POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JCP AND CPSU STILL EXIST. JCP, FOR EXAMPLE, IS BOTH INDEPENDENT AND ANTI-DETENTE; JCP ALSO RESENTS CPSU CONDESCENSION WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED THEIR CONTACTS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, JCP HAS GAINED DOMESTICALLY IN LAST DECADE BY ITS INDEPENDENCE.

FINALLY, JCP WILL CAREFULLY CALCULATE THE IMPACT OF
ITS MOVES TOWARD THE CPSU ON ITS POTENTIAL TIES WITH
CCP. THEREFORE, WE THINK EVEN IF REESTABLISHED ON
REGULAR BASIS, JCP-CPSU TIES ARE LIKELY TO BE
RESTRAINED.
HODGSON

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